Tomoaki SHINODA
The University of Tokyo, Department of Islamic Studies

Title: Cross-border movement of people in 16th-century northern Morocco

In this presentation, we discuss a conflict over control of the cross-border movement of people in 16th-century northern Morocco with a focus on jihad as a means for local governors to justify their action against their Sultan.

Many historians consider jihad against the Portuguese a key factor in explaining political changes in 16th-century Morocco, and especially the overturn of the Waṭṭāsids by the Sa`dids in the mid-century. According to their explanation, the success of a political group depends on its achievement in waging a jihad. Thus, the Waṭṭāsids are said to have lost their authority by concluding a peace treaty with the Portuguese in 1471. Contrary to the Waṭṭāsids, the Sa`dids are regarded to have gained power owing to their role as commanders of jihad among tribesmen in the south of the country, and succeeded in overthrowing the Waṭṭāsids.

This scheme ignores the vicissitudes in political relationships that occurred during this period. In fact, after an expiration of the treaty around 1500, the Waṭṭāsids continued to war against the Portuguese until the conclusion of a new short-lived treaty in 1538. On the other hand, the Sa`dids had concluded treaties with the Portuguese for a large part of this period. Therefore, it is simplistic to assert that a compromise with the Portuguese directly caused a dynasty's downfall.

To overcome the weakness, we examine this new treaty. It was agreed upon in 1538 in order to control the influx of Muslims into once-evacuated lands and to ensure the safety of the frontier, but invalidated in 1543 because of many troubles and oppositions to the treaty. Did this second compromise cause the Waṭṭāsid downfall?

First, we examine the situation of Muslim inhabitants at the frontier before 1538. 15th-century northern Morocco experienced the development of a Muslim-Christian frontier, with many confrontations at the border. The Portuguese conquest of the region started with the famous expedition led by João I against Ceuta in 1415. His grandson Afonso V followed with a successful conquering of al-Qaṣr al-Ṣaghīr in 1458. This success was followed by that of Aṣīlah and Ṭanjah in 1471.

After this expansion of Portuguese influence, the last three decades of the century saw the organisation of a Muslim defensive system, which included the frontier cities of Shafshāwun, Tiṭwān, al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, Asjan, and al-`Arā'ish.

According to contemporary chroniclers, the 1471 treaty between a Waṭṭāsid claimant to the throne, Muḥammad al-Shaykh, and the King of Portugal, Afonso V, mandated the determination of a boundary according to the ancient ones (segundo os antigos termos), inside which each ruler could levy taxes. They established its duration as 20 years, with its sphere limited to open fields. In addition, Bernardo Rodrigues, a chronicler of Aṣīlah in the 16th

Tomoaki SHINODA
The University of Tokyo, Department of Islamic Studies

century, documented that the Muslim population in the Portuguese-dominated villages continued to live there under the jurisdiction of the governors of the conquered cities.

This treaty became void after the death of Afonso V in 1481 and was not renewed until 1490 after a failure of the Portuguese expedition against Graciosa. Finally, a negotiation to renew the treaty dissolved around 1500, resulting in a Waṭṭāsid envoy immediately ordering a total evacuation of Muslim inhabitants under Portuguese rule and a long period of hostility followed.

This hostile relation changed in the latter half of the 1530s due to a change in the political situation in Morocco. The Sa`did *Sharīf*s appeared on the Moroccan political scene around 1510 when the Portuguese started their occupation in the southern part of Morocco, especially the Sūs region. At that time, the Sa`did *Sharīf*s were acknowledged as commanders of jihad by the Waṭṭāsids against the Portuguese. However, they tended to focus more on rebellious Muslims than the Portuguese in the stronghold of Santa Cruz. In 1524/25, they occupied Marrakech and demonstrated their will for independence. However, a Waṭṭāsid dynastic disturbance, which led to the enthronement of a new Sultan Aḥmad, caused the failure of the siege to Marrakech in 1527. Later in 1536, the Waṭṭāsid army suffered its first serious defeat at the Battle of Bū`aqbah. After this defeat, the Waṭṭāsids began to seek a peace treaty with the Portuguese in order to concentrate their power in a quarrel against the Sa`dids. After a long process of negotiation, a new peace treaty was concluded in 1538.

Here we emphasize general details of the treaty. Persons in charge of the negotiation were Ibrāhīm b. Rāshid, a Waṭṭāsid Wazīr and the governor of Shafshāwun, and the Count of Redondo and governor of Aṣīlah, Don João de Coutinho. Two copies of letters of attorney by the King of Portugal and the Waṭṭāsid Sultan precede the main part of the document, which consists of 7 clauses and complementary provisions. The subject of the clauses concerns a guarantee of peaceful relationships between Muslims and Christians; the complementary provisions establish the duration of the treaty as 11 years and a penalty for non-observance. Finally, 4 Portuguese high officers and 3 Muslim counterparts from the frontier signed the document.

Among these clauses, the first is particularly important to our argument, as it demonstrates the existence of Portuguese-controlled villages with Muslims inhabitants before the conclusion of the treaty. It states that during the 11 years of peace, all of the Muslims who want to live in all the villages on the plain of Aṣīlah, Ṭanjah, al-Qaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, and Ceuta where Muslims have already inhabited in time of war should be under the jurisdiction of the King of Fez and Mūlāy Ibrāhīm. They cannot inhabit other villages without a license from the villages' captains. Those who move down to the plain will pay to the King of Portugal one piece of *Dobra de Banda* gold coin for every plough they use to cultivate. The King of Fez and Mūlāy Ibrāhīm

Tomoaki SHINODA
The University of Tokyo, Department of Islamic Studies

will give 10 good and healthy horses to the King of Portugal for the Moors who came under their jurisdiction. Thus, this clause states a will to regulate an existing influx of Muslim population from the mountainous region to the plains by means of a licensing system. It also expresses the reversion of jurisdiction of the Muslims to the Muslim rulers.

The second clause also is important, because it guarantees a secure space for commerce between Muslims and Christians at the frontier (except for war supplies). While out of scope of this paper, Portuguese authors, such as Bernardo Rodrigues, assert that commercial ties also had existed before the conclusion of the treaty.

What was the situation at the frontier after the treaty's conclusion? A report sent from a Portuguese agent to the King from Fez in the winter of 1540 demonstrates that it was critical. He reported the abduction of Muslims who had cultivated land belonging to the King of Portugal, assassination of six Muslims near Ṭānjah, abduction of some notables from Tiṭwān who had conducted beekeeping near al-Qaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, and assassination near Ṭānjah of a Muslim and a Jew who was a factor of the governor of Shafshāwun. Following these incidents, the Waṭṭāsid Sultan demanded a countermeasure for the situation from the King of Portugal.

Curiously, the agent conveyed an opinion of a Muslim officer that preceding aggressions from the Muslim side caused a deterioration of the situation. The agent then mentioned two major causes of the deterioration and a countermeasure. The first is a sabotage of the Muslim governors at the frontier. According to him, the governors of the frontier, such as the governor of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, the governor of Shafshāwun, and the governor of Tiṭwān Sayyidah al-Ḥurrah, acted regardless of the treaty. Secondly, the agent stated that the Waṭṭāsid Sultan was a very weak judge of Muslim criminals, though a very good person. Then he suggested a countermeasure. According to him, the Sultan's son was famous for his harsh attitude as a governor of Miknās, and the people under his rule there feared him greatly. If the Sultan commanded his son to make judgements at the frontier, the Sultan would become free from his scruples because he did not want the judgement to be made if not by the hand of the governors. What do his "scruples" mean? They may have resulted from his fear for the antipathy from the governors at the frontier in losing their authority, because the countermeasure means for these governors a loss of juridical authority that had been until then delegated to them and its centralization to the Waṭṭāsid family. In other words, a centralization of Waṭṭāsid power occurred at the expense of frontier governors to enforce the treaty.

A few months after this proposition, a governor of Shafshāwun, Muḥammad b. Rāshid, revolted against the Sultan. The governor, who was a half-brother of Ibrāhīm who negotiated the treaty, assumed the office after his half-brother's death in 1539. In March, he revolted in cooperation with the Sa`did Sultan, who led a military demonstration, and did not

Tomoaki SHINODA
The University of Tokyo, Department of Islamic Studies

surrender until after a Sa`did withdrawal at the end of May. Despite this treason, the Sultan was obliged to agree with Muḥammad, who had attracted sympathy of people because he preached a war against the Christians, according to the aforementioned agent. Was Muḥammad b. Rāshid's revolt attributable to the discontentment of people at the frontier with the treaty with the Christians?

It is noteworthy to mention here that Muḥammad himself was very interested in the profitable activities at the frontier. His Jewish factor (feytor) killed near Ṭanjah in 1540 seems to have come to the city for commercial purpose. Even after the revolt, he demanded possession of Tiṭwān from where the Sultan had earned an income of 10,000 cruzados every year thanks to the peace. Regarding agricultural activities, he used Muslim peasants to produce cereals throughout the plains belonging to the King of Portugal. Further, while there is no evidence indicating that the Sultan's son assumed the position of judge to ensure peace, order in the frontier was restored following actions of peace by Muḥammad and another governor. Therefore, while it is not accurate to consider him simply as an opponent of a peace with the Portuguese, he opposed firmly the Waṭṭāsid attempts to strengthen its power.

Finally, the Waṭṭāsid Sultan announced the abrogation of the treaty in 1543. He cited distrust for the King of Portugal in his abandonment of coastal cities to the Sa`dids after a surrender of Agadir in 1541, censure of religious persons and influential persons on the conclusion of the peace treaty that did not make any profits to the Muslims, and dissatisfaction with commercial profits.

Following the Sa`did conquest of formerly Portuguese-occupied cites, it must have been difficult to stay on good terms with the Christian King. When the governors of the frontier came into conflict with the Sultan over the control of frontier cross-border activities and the profits from these activities, they could disobey the Sultan by allying with the Sa`dids and preaching jihad to justify their disobedience.

Moreover, this conflict may have facilitated the downfall of the Waṭṭāsids, because when the Sa`did army began to conquer the northern part of the country in the middle of the century, these governors deserted the former and submitted to the latter to ensure their position as a governor of the frontier cities. However, the Sa`did dynasty, which was more powerful and centralised than the Waṭṭāsid dynasty, did not tolerate their tendency toward autonomy, and finally eliminated them.